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A N
EXAMINATION

Of the late

Archdeacon *ECHAR D*'s Account

OF THE

MARRIAGE-TREATY,

BETWEEN

King *CHARLES* the Second

A N D

Queen *CATHERINE*, *Infanta* of *PORTUGAL*.

Address'd to the RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE GRANVILLE,
Lord *Lansdowne*.

By Dr. *Colbatch*, of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*.

C A M B R I D G E :

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A N

EXAMINATION

Of the late

Archdeacon *ECHARD*'s Account

OF THE

MARRIAGE-TREATY, &c.

My LORD!



Can use no better Apology for the Liberty
 I am going to take, than that your Lord-
 ship hath supplied me with, where you de-
 clare it; "To be every honest Man's Duty
 " to vindicate the Memory of the Dead
 " from undeserved Reproach; *provided he be furnished*
 " *with sufficient Materials for it. For, let the Injury come*
 " *from what Hand it will, to conceal the Truth in such a*
 " *Case, is being accessory to the Evil.*"

B

I

I know not whether your Lordship will allow the Materials, I am furnish'd with, to be sufficient for that Purpose in the late Archdeacon *Echard's* Case. But this I do know, and find my self oblig'd to declare it, That he was innocent of the Crime with which your Lordship, in your *Vindication* of General *Monk*, seems to reproach him, by insinuating so often as you do in that Piece, as if you thought his Account of the *Portugal-Match*, as you call it, to be a Story of his own Invention. Whereas I am certain, that the Substance of what he relates concerning that Affair, did come from that Honourable Person whom he names for his Voucher; and whose Authority your Lordship acknowledges to be of the greatest Weight in this Case. For I had it my self from Sir *Robert Southwell's* own Mouth, and was, I believe, the first that imparted it to Mr. *Echard*.

It was, I suppose, upon the notice receiv'd from me, that the Archdeacon applied to the late Mr. *Southwell* for further Information, if any could be had, from Sir *Robert's* Papers; and borrow'd of him the Manuscript he refers to. That he did see and discourse with that Gentleman I am well assur'd; for he carried a Message to him from my self, and brought back an Answer, which, I am satisfy'd, no other Person could give: And that he had the Use of the said Manuscript I believe; because he affirms it, whose Veracity was never, that I know of, call'd in question

question by any Man of Credit, before the *Vindication* of General *Monk* appear'd in Print. I might add, That Mr. *Southwell* lived many Years after the Publication of Mr. *Echard's* History ; who, had he not lent him such a Manuscript, was a Person of more Honour than to suffer a Falshood to be imposed upon the World in his Father's Name, could we suppose the Archdeacon to be so wicked, and so stupid, as to attempt it.

There are two Passages in that History relating to the Affair in question, at which your Lordship hath taken Offence.

The one is in *Vol. 2. p. 888.* where the Archdeacon writes, that the Marriage between King *Charles* the Second and the *Infanta* of *Portugal* was first proposed by the *Portuguese* Ambassador to General *Monk* before the Restoration, and soon after it by the General to the King.

The other is in *Vol. 3. the 81st and following Pages* ; where, after a Repetition of the same thing, the Archdeacon adds an Account of the Opposition made to this Marriage by the Lord Chancellor *Hyde* ; the Treaty whereof, as the Archdeacon asserts, was begun without the Chancellor's Knowledge, and concluded without his Approbation. I shall examine each of these Passages apart.

That which Offends your Lordship in the Former is, not the thing there related, but the manner in which it is related; or rather, the Archdeacon's wrong Timing it. For as to the thing itself, "Whoever advised this Marriage," your Lordship, "for your Part, can see no Reason to disown the Advice, and you think it could be no Dishonour to the Duke of *Albemarle* to have been the principal Agent in it. For where could there have been found a more virtuous Princess, every way qualify'd, and worthy to sit upon a Throne? If Providence, having other Views for the Happiness of a Nation, thought fit to deny the Blessing of a fruitful Bed, was any Man to answer for that?" And then, as to the manner of the Archdeacon's Relation, all that your Lordship is displeased at is, His having assign'd it a wrong Place in his History. For "if the Scene had been laid after the General had openly declared himself [for the Restoration] "and was secure of his Point," (which, if I mistake not, will appear to be the very Case) "there might, as your Lordship allows, have been some Sense in the Story." It being your Lordship's Opinion, "That when the Restoration was declared, the *Portuguese* Ambassador might very well make such a Proposal to the General." And, which is more, you think it probable, "That the General might give ear to it, so far as to engage himself to recommend it to his Majesty's and his Ministers Consideration at a proper time: So far,

“far, says your Lordship, may be true:” And further, as I take it, the Archdeacon says not.

What is it then that provokes your Lordship to treat that Reverend Person in so cruel a manner, that the vilest Impostor could hardly be worse used by any Gentleman? Why, “the Archdeacon is in such a Hurry for fear the “Chancellor should be thought the first Mover of the “Marriage, that he brings the General and the Ambassador together before matters were ripe for it; the General having not as yet discovered his Purpose to call “home the King, nor suffered any Mortal to penetrate “into his Secret.” So that it seems the Archdeacon might have escaped this hard Usage, had he told the Story a few Pages later than he does. But, if I am not much mistaken, it will appear that your Lordship was in too much Haste, and had not taken time to consider, when you charged him with the same Fault.

The Archdeacon speaks of two several Visits made by the Ambassador to the General on different Occasions, and at distant Times, when Matters were full ripe for what he had to propose at each Visit.

It was about six Weeks after the General’s Arrival at *London* before the Ambassador could have any Business with him, and then he was become the most proper Person to be applied to about that which kept the said Minister

nister in *England*: It was to solicit the Execution of a Treaty, before made with the Powers then in being, whereby *England* stood engaged to assist *Portugal* (which at that time was in eminent Danger of being over-run by the *Spaniards*) with a certain Number of Troops. Colonel, or Commissioner *Monk* (as his Masters of the *Junta* thought fit to call him at his first coming to Town) had as yet nothing to do in Matters of that Nature. He had no Vote in the Council of State, as not having taken the Abjuration-Oath: Nor could he dispose of any Troops, as having Four others join'd with him in Commission to govern the Army; Three of which Number were sure to thwart him in any thing he should propose. Nor was he, if we can believe those who write most favourably of him, free from Apprehensions, that his Commission, such as it was, would be taken from him, and himself clapt up in the Tower, where perhaps his Head might not be out of Danger. Such being his Condition at his first coming to Town, every Body will agree with your Lordship, that he had other things to mind at that time than *Match-Making*. It was not till after he had possessed himself of the City and Hearts of the Citizens, exposed the *Rump* to the Insults of the Rabble, restored the secluded Members, brought the Parliament first to constitute him Captain-General and Commander in Chief of all the Forces in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and then to dissolve themselves, that he had any thing to do with foreign Ministers. It was then that the *Portuguese* Ambassador addressed himself

self to him for the first time, he being then become the only proper Person to determine what Regiments should be assigned for the Service of *Portugal*. Nor did the Ambassador, at this his first Audience, pretend to penetrate into the General's Secrets: He discovered, 'tis true, a very important One to his Excellency, but without pretending to any Return in Kind. Nor does it appear, that there was a Word said of any Marriage-Proposal, on either side, till a good while afterwards, when the intended Restoration was publickly known and avow'd by all Parties concerned. But let us see Mr. *Echard's* Account of what passed on that Occasion, and then compare it with that Summary of the same, which your Lordship hath been pleased to give us.

The Archdeacon, after having set forth at large the several Steps by which the General ascended to that Height of Power to which he was now arrived; and which was such, that *de Bordeaux* the *French* Ambassador pressed him to take upon himself the Government, thus proceeds:

“ In the mean time the General had Application of
 “ another kind made to him from the *Portugal* Ambassador,
 “ *Dom Francisco de Mello*, who came over to *England* upon
 “ this following Occasion: Upon the Conclusion of the
 “ late *Pyrenean* Treaty, the *French*, the more to blind the
 “ Eyes of the *Spaniards*, and to excite the *Portuguese* to
 “ seek out new Helps, had pretended to desert the In-
 “ tereſt

"terest of the latter, and to leave them to the Mercy of
 "the former; which occasion'd this Minister to apply to
 "the Powers, then uppermost in *England*, for a certain
 "Number of Troops, to be sent to the Assistance of his
 "Master; which at length concluded in a Treaty with
 "the Council of State, now lying in the Paper-Office.
 "But when *Monk's Power became so conspicuous*, [in the
 "3d Vol. it is, General *Monk* coming at this Juncture to
 "*London, and superseding all before him*] he made his
 "chief Overtures to him; and being accompanied with
 "Father *Russel*, a Priest of the *English* College at *Lisbon*,
 "who served him as an Interpreter, *He at the first time spoke*
 "*only thus much to him, That he would not presume to en-*
 "*quire if his Excellency had any good Inclinations for the*
 "King's Return; but this he would advertise him, as an
 "Intelligence of great Moment to *England*, that the
 "*Spaniards* had resolved, if his Majesty should be called
 "home, to detain him at *Brussels* till he had engaged for
 "the Restitution of *Dunkirk* and *Jamaica*. The General
 "made no Answer.

This is the first time that the Archdeacon brings the
 General and the Ambassador together, and we have here
 all that then passed between them, excepting what might
 relate to the above-mentioned Treaty. Your Lordship
 will please to observe, that we find this Passage in the
 Archdeacon's History immediately before your Uncle's
 Address to the General, which was some Time after the
 Long-

Long-Parliament had been dissolved, on the 16th of *March*, and that the General had been in Town from the 3d of *February*. The Archdeacon proceeds;

“ But when the Ambassador found that he was heard,
 “ and that there were some good Effects of his Intelli-
 “ gence.” Or, as it is in the 3d *Vol.* “ This causing
 “ His Majesty’s sudden Removal to *Breda*, when he was
 “ out of the Power of *Spain*; *de Mello* proceeded to other
 “ Matters with the General, and proposed a new Alliance,
 “ a Marriage between the King and the *Infanta* of *Por-*
 “ *tugal*.

These two distinct Conferences, between which there could not be a less distance of Time than was between the first Notice given by the Ambassador of the intended Detention of the King, and of its being known in *England* that he was retired into the *States* Dominions, your Lordship, in order to make your self and Reader merry at the Archdeacon’s Expence, hath been pleased to jumble and confound together, laying the Scene long before the Date of the first Conference.

“ Then comes General *Monk* to Town; and this cunning *Portuguese*, having a shrewd Guess at his Intentions, which he had never yet revealed to any Man alive, strikes up another Bargain with him; which was, to marry the King, when he should think fit to call him
 C “ home,

“ home, to the *Infanta*. And thus this profound Politician secures his Point both ways, by a present Alliance just then signed with the reigning Powers, as appears in the Paper-Office at *White-hall*, and a future one with the next Comer, which never appear’d *any where* till Mr. Archdeacon made the Discovery.

What your Lordship means by all this Pleasantry is, I suppose:

1. That the Archdeacon introduces the Ambassador to the General as soon as the latter arrived in *London*. How true that is, let the Reader judge, who has Eyes to read what is above.

2. That ’tis ridiculous to imagine the Ambassador should at that time so much as guess at the General’s Intention to call home the King. This, for a Reason which shall be considered presently.

3. We have in the Third Place a Flight of your Lordship’s Wit, which takes its Rise from hence: The Archdeacon, having mentioned the Agreement made between the Council of State and the Ambassador, quotes for his Authority the Treaty itself, *now lying* in the Paper-Office at *White-hall*; but some of these Words are left out in the last Volume, where he repeats the same thing, which makes the Sense appear imperfect. Whether this Omis-

sion

sion was occasion'd by the Printer's Oversight, or the Archdeacon's own, your Lordship, it seems, is so much taken with the Blunder, as not content with having expos'd it in the last Paragraph, you repeat it again in this, *As appears in the Paper-Office at White-hall*. Your Readers perhaps will wonder how such a Trifle should raise so much Mirth in a Person of your Lordship's exquisite Taste: How one accustomed to more manly Diversions should thus delight himself in blowing up a Feather.

4. But, to say the Truth, this innocent Piece of Railery seems to have been used not so much for its own sake, as to make way for another more pungent; which, had there been any Ground for it, would indeed give a mortal Wound to the Archdeacon's Credit. Of the two Alliances mentioned by him, the one as already signed, the other as then propos'd, your Lordship admits that the former appears in the Paper-Office; but denies that the other *ever appeared any where 'till Mr. Archdeacon made the Discovery*. So that, according to your Lordship, that Reverend Person must have grossly impos'd upon the World, by pretending to have seen the Account he gives of that Matter, in a Manuscript of Sir *Robert Southwell*; a Crime of such a Nature, that one would think no ingenuous Man would charge another with, but upon such Evidence as is not, I am sure, to be had in this Case. Let me add, that I am confident your Lordship does not think that the Archdeacon was capable of any such Im-
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posture.

posture. You could not surely think so when you gave this Testimony of him ; “ The Archdeacon was fully persuaded of the Truth of what he avers. His Mistakes are not wilful ; if he has been sometimes deceived by too implicit a Faith in his Guides, he certainly had no Intention of being himself a Deceiver.” In this Case he could not be deceived, whilst he had his Senses about him ; for he could not but know whether or no he had seen and read what he writes in the Manuscript he quotes. As for his having been the first that published the Matter in question to the World, that can be no Argument against the Truth of what he relates ; if it were, it would prove a great deal too much, and extend to more Cases than that before us. There are several Particularities in this very *Vindication* of General Monk, which were, no less than any thing told by Mr. *Echard*, a Secret to the World, ’till your Lordship made the Discovery ; which notwithstanding, every candid Reader will believe them upon your Lordship’s Authority : And since Veracity is not confined to any Profession, or Quality ; nor to be measured according to the Rank People hold in the World, your Lordship ’tis hoped will not be displeased, if in this respect we pay alike Deference to the Reverend Historian, as we do to the Right Honourable.

The Reason why your Lordship thinks it ridiculous to imagine, that the Ambassador should, upon Monk’s Arrival in *London*, so much as guess at his Intention to call home

home the King, is, because, as you assert, he had not then revealed his Intention to any Man alive. Be it so; and let all that *Gumble, Price, Skinner, &c.* have said to the contrary go for nothing. To make the thing look more incredible still, your Lordship might have added, That from the time when he first began to stir in *Scotland*, 'till a good while after his coming to Town, his Excellency did not only keep himself upon the Reserve in that Respect, but gave positive Assurances, that for his Part he had nothing less in view than the Calling in of *Charles Stuart*, nothing more at Heart than to live and die with a Common-wealth, in Opposition to King, single Person, and House of Lords. For to this Purpose were his many solemn Declarations, Protestations, Letters and Speeches, as well private as publick. But, all this notwithstanding, the cunning *Portuguese* being, as your Lordship observes, a Spy by his Post, might long before his Arrival not only make a shrewd Guess, but take it for granted, that he was coming with a full Purpose to restore the King.

This was firmly believed (upon what Grounds is another Question) by the wisest and greatest as well of those who feared it most, as of those who wished for nothing more. He began his March from *Scotland* on the first of *January*, 16⁵²; and it was near two Months before, that *Whitlock*, the most intelligent of those then in Power, accompanied with *Fleetwood, Desborough*, and other principal Commanders of the Army, was sent by the *Committee of Safety* to acquaint the Common-Council of *London*,
that

that *Monk's* real Design was to bring in the King. That *Whitlock* spoke as he thought on that Occasion, appears from what passed in secret a little afterwards between him and *Fleetwood*, whom he would have persuaded to be beforehand with *Monk*, by entering immediately upon a Treaty with the King, offering to go over in Person on that Errand, and giving this for his Reason ; “ That it “ was more than evident *Monk's* Design was to bring in “ the King. ” And that there was no such Difficulty, as some have imagined since, in bringing about this Design, in *Whitlock's* Opinion at least, appears from what he added, “ That the Inclinations of the Presbyterian Party “ generally, and of many others, and of the City, and “ most of the Parliament's old Friends, were the same “ way ; and a great Part of the Soldiers : And that those “ here (in *London*) were revolted from him (*Fleetwood*) as “ those in the North under *Lambert*, and those at *Portsmouth*, and other Places : That *Monk* could easily delude *Hastlerigge*, and the rest of the Parliament-Men : “ and that all the incensed Lords and seclused Members “ would be, and were active in this Design : So that (says “ *Whitlock*) the Coming in of the King is unavoidable.

It was from a firm Persuasion that *Monk*, let him pretend what he would, had this, and nothing else in View, whilst he was mustering up his Forces in *Scotland*, and making ready for a March, that the Lord *Fairfax* in the North of *England*, the Lord *Broghil* and Sir *Charles Coot*
in

in *Ireland*, who had all before made a Tender of their Service to his Majesty, rose up in Arms, resolving to act in Concert with him. It was upon a like Persuasion that the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry, in order to hasten his March, chearfully brought in their Arrears of Taxes; and, had he thought convenient, would have joined him with the Forces of that Kingdom; and this notwithstanding that the good General was declaring all the while, that all he intended was to restore that despicable Remnant of a Parliament, commonly called the *Rump*, to their Seats, of which the Army had lately dispossessed them. But the *Scots*, it seems, more cunning than your Lordship will allow the *Portuguese* to have been, shrewdly guessed that he had some further Aim; and, if we can believe Dr. *Skinner*, "Some of the *Scots* Lords, as well " as divers of the General's own Officers, had so far dived " into his Proceedings" (his impenetrable Secrecy notwithstanding) that they did not only guess, but " were " very well assured that all this Bustle was not made only " to restore a few hated inconsiderable People to a Condition of doing more Mischief; but that there was some " greater Design in hand than the Restitution of the " *Juncto* Parliament."

What wiser Men believed when he was leaving *Scotland*, was in every Bodies Mouth before he got to *London*. His Taciturnity in relation to the King did, 'tis true, continue still the same, and his Professions of Loyalty to the

the *Junta* in opposition to the secluded Members, as well as to any single Person and House of Lords, were no less frequent than before, if not expressed in stronger Terms: But still his Actions, as People thought at least, proclaimed the contrary; and more Credit was given to these, than to all the Protestations he could make.

He had no sooner taken up his Quarters on this side the *Tweed*, than a Letter was brought him from the Speaker, signifying that his Masters were then in quiet Possession of their Seats, but without the least Intimation of their Pleasure that he should proceed further; which looked like a tacit Countermand, and, in a Day or two after, News came that *Lambert's* Party was intirely dispersed, and, in Obedience to the Parliament's Orders, gone into their respective Quarters; which, with the Submission before made by *Fleetwood* and the Forces that continued with him, shewed that nothing now remained for *Monk*, but to return from whence he came. However he marched on; which was then generally understood to be with an Intent to free the Nation from their Tyranny whose Authority he pretended to maintain. Nor did all the Declarations he could make to the Purposes aforesaid hinder his being addressed to by the Genry and Commonality of the Counties thro' which he passed, and by many from several remote Parts of the Kingdom; all agreeing in the same Request, that he would cause the secluded Members to be restored, or a New Parliament
to

to be called; either of which would put an end to the usurped Power then in being; and, in the Opinion of all Parties, prove the same thing in Effect as Calling home the King. And so great was the Confidence of the City, that this and no other was his real Design, that, tho' they could draw nothing from him to the Purpose in answer to their Message which found him at *Morpeth*, or to their Commissioners who attended him at *Harborough*, they thought themselves sufficiently encouraged and enabled, by his nearer Approach to *London*, to set the *Rump* at Defiance; as they did, by resolving in Common-Council, and publicly declaring to the World, that they would pay no Taxes but such as were imposed by a Full and Free Parliament.

But 'tis a mere Jest with your Lordship, that the cunning *Portuguese*, that profound Politician, as you are pleased to call him, should guess at that, which scarce Any-body else made the least Doubt of; and which, far from being a Secret, was now become the Voice of the whole Nation. The *Portugueses*, whatever your Lordship may think of them, do not want their Share of Cunning, as they find by Experience whoever have Dealings with them of any Sort. They were at this time little less concerned than the *English* themselves, that the Government here should come to some Settlement, which 'till then could not be in a Condition to send them the promised Succours, upon which, since the *French* had abandoned

doned them to the Fury and Revenge of the *Spaniards*, the Safety of their Country depended ; as, in Effect, it is to the Forces which were afterwards sent thither from hence, that they owe their Preservation. *Dom Francisco de Mello*, a Person so eminent for his great Abilities, that for many Years together he was almost continually employ'd in Embassies and Negotiations at several Courts, was pitch'd upon to manage for them here in *England* ; who being, as your Lordship observes, *a Spy by his Post*, could not, we may be sure, so far neglect his Duty, as not to be alert at the General's Motions, nor be so stupid, as not to perceive which way they tended : He could not but see how vast a Majority of all Ranks, Professions, and Parties in the Nation stood affected ; nor perhaps help thinking with *Whitlock*, that *the Coming in of the King was unavoidable* : It was his Business then to make Court betimes to the Man who was like to be the immediate Instrument of so great a Change : So that, had the General been then qualify'd to treat of Alliances with Foreign Ministers, which for the Reasons given above he was not, *Dom Francisco* would in all likelihood have demanded Audience of him at his first coming to Town. I will venture to say, that his Excellency's Taciturnity and impenetrable Secrecy, so much insisted upon by your Lordship, would not have hindered that Minister from meeting him Half-way with his Proposals, any more than it did Multitudes of others with their Addresses.

But

But, in Fact, the Archdeacon does not bring their Excellencies together, even for the first time, before the *Stroke* was just ready to *be struck*, and the Restoration resolved upon by the General. To prove this I have one Reason to offer, over and above those already given, which to you, my Lord, must appear unanswerable: The first Visit, that, according to Mr. *Echard*, the Ambassador made to the General, was, when the former came to give the latter Notice of the Resolution taken by the *Spaniards* to seize upon the King's Person, and keep him in their Power 'till he should consent to the Restitution of *Dunkirk* and *Jamaica*. This must have been just before the time when your Uncle, having by the General's Order conferred with Mr. *Morrice*, came for his last Instructions to the General himself. Had his Excellency received the Intelligence sooner, he would sooner have imparted it to the King: For surely *no Man shall persuade your Lordship*, that this loyal Subject, so affectionate to his Master, could be guilty of so horrible a Misprision, as to delay a Moment to warn his Majesty of the Danger he was in, when he might prevent the Mischief by dispatching away an Express for *Brussels*, or by communicating his Intelligence to any of the King's Friends, who then appear'd barefac'd about the Town in great Numbers. His Taciturnity, whether natural or affected, could be no Excuse for so great a Crime: For if he had a loyal Heart, of which your Lordship will not suffer us to make the least

Doubt, his Tongue, tho' ty'd like that Son's who never spoke 'till he saw the Enemy falling upon his Father, would have broken loose upon so urgent an Occasion. This Reason alone will, I suppose, convince your Lordship, That the Ambassador's first Visit to the General was not made till a little before Sir *John Granville* came to take his leave of the latter upon his Departure for *Brussels*; it was probably in that very Interval of Time, which passed between the first and the second Conference which Sir *John* had with the General. This is certain, That the Advice for the King's sudden Removal out of the *Spanish* Dominions was no part of the Instructions which Mr. *Morrice* gave him by the General's Order a Day or two before, as in all likelihood it would have been, had the General received his Intelligence at that time; but, as Lord *Clarendon* and Sir *Thomas Clarges* both write, was added by Word of Mouth, when Sir *John* received his very last Dispatch.

“ This (*i. e.* The Discovery of so important a Secret) causing his Majesty's sudden Removal to *Breda*, where he was out of the Power of *Spain*, *de Mello* proceeded to other Matters with the General, and proposed a new Alliance, a Marriage between the King and the *Infanta* of *Portugal*.” They are Mr. *Echard*'s Words, which had your Lordship been pleased to take notice of, you could not have thought the Archdeacon to be in such a Hurry, as those who read you, without consulting him, will

will be apt to imagine. You see here, that he speaks of the Marriage-Proposal, as made not 'till after the King's Removal to *Breda*, by which time, even according to your Lordship, *Matters were ripe for it*; for when the News of that Removal was brought to *England*, the Restoration was no longer in question: All the Dispute among those who were then in Power was, who should have the Honour to call home the King, and upon what Terms he should be admitted to exercise the Royal Authority. The Long-Parliament had some time before struggled for that Honour; *William Prynne* telling them, that since the King must come in (which was then taken for granted) it was fit the Son should be called home by their Votes who had voted away the Father: But *Monk* it seems did not care that they should have any thing to do in that Matter: The rigid Presbyterians were all for having his Majesty brought in, but upon *Covenant-Terms*: The Lords and other Persons of Quality, who used at that time to meet at *Northumberland-House* to consult about this great Affair, tho' commonly stiled the Chiefs of the Presbyterian Party, were for restoring the King, and the Church too, to their full Rights; all they stuck at was, to consider, how this Revolution might be brought about with Security to themselves. Nor were they wanting among the General's own Officers, who grew very troublesome and importunate with him (not to set up for himself, to which, 'tis true, he had, whilst the Long-Parliament was yet sitting, being tempted by a few desperate

perate and then become despicable Wretches, who, could they get into Power again, were like to serve him as they did *Dick Cromwell*, or rather worse, if it were possible, than they had done their lawful King, but) to be before-hand with the Parliament, which was then in Election, “ and assume the Glory and Advantage of the “ Restoration to himself and Army, whereby they might “ fairly now oblige his Majesty, and mend their own “ Fortunes. They undertook to engage the rest of the “ Officers and the whole Army to a Concurrence in the “ Design. ” *Skinner's Life of Gen. Monk*, p. 321. And then, for the General himself, it is a very great Mistake of your Lordship, where you say, That when the Marriage was proposed to him, according to Mr. *Echard's* Account, he had *never reveal'd* his Intentions of Calling home the King to *any Man alive* ; for he had not only reveal'd them to Mr. *Morrice*, to Sir *John Granville*, and to your Lordship's own Father, but declar'd them to the Assembly at *Northumberland-House* : For how otherwise could he insist, as he did there, That his Majesty should be bound by his Father's Concessions in the *Isle of Wight* ? He had probably done the same to the rigid Presbyterians in the City ; for it was some time before the Convention-Parliament met, that he press'd Mr. *Sharp*, then Agent for the *Scotch Kirk*, to wait on the King at *Breda*, and procure from him a Letter to Mr. *Calamy*, to be communicated to the Presbyterian Ministers, whereby his Majesty should signify his Resolution to own that Party.

It

It may, I believe, be truly said, that he had not yet reveal'd his Intentions in one respect to any Man alive, at least 'till he sent your Father over to the King ; for it does not appear, that he had ever 'till then made known his Design to call home his Majesty without any Conditions at all. If this was his real Intention, as your Lordship assures us it was, he took his usual Method to conceal it, by declaring and insinuating just the contrary ; and that not only to both rigid and moderate Presbyterians, but to Sir *John Granville*, and by him to the King himself. For Sir *John's* Instructions contain'd such Proposals, which, as we learn from Lord *Clarendon* and others, his Majesty could not in Honour or Conscience comply with : As that he should grant a full Indemnity to those who had murder'd his Father, without Exception, unless it were of Four at the most ; a General Toleration in matters of Religion, which was then thought hardly consistent with any ; and a Confirmation of their Titles, who were possessed of Lands in any of the Three Kingdoms, belonging to the Crown, the Church, and to those Loyal Patriots, who had been stript of their Estates for their Fidelity to their King and their Country. If his Excellency really intended to re-establish the King on his Throne, free of all *ungenerous Impositions*, as we must believe he did upon your Lordship's Word, how could he better disguise and conceal his Intention, than by making such Proposals ?

But

But this Secret, impenetrable as it was, could not hinder the *Portuguese* Ambassador from pursuing his Point when he saw that the Restoration was resolved upon; so that, had Mr. *Echard* introduced him then to the General for the second time, your Lordship, I suppose, would not think the Marriage-Proposal unseasonable. But he says nothing, that I can find, which necessarily signifies its having been made before the first of *May*, when *the Restoration was declared* in full Parliament. And now, the *Stroke being struck*, your Lordship agrees with the Archdeacon, that *the Portugal Ambassador might make such a Proposal to the General*; and that 'tis probable the General might give ear to it, so far as to recommend it with all its Advantages to his Majesty and his Ministers Consideration at a proper Time; which is all the Archdeacon pretends to, only he adds, that this Affair was negotiated between Mr. *Morrice* and Mr. *Russel*; and since there was time sufficient for all this between the First and the Twenty-ninth of *May*, you will now without doubt think it "very reasonable, that the General might go on with the Plan of this, as well as of the other Alliance; and that Mr. *Morrice* and *Russel* the Interpreter might be employ'd in both.

But still there remains a Scruple with your Lordship, that wants to be clear'd; "The Archdeacon, you say, is in such a Hurry that he makes the General propose
" the

“ the Marriage too hastily, upon his Majesty’s first set-
 “ ing Foot upon *English* Ground. No sooner did his
 “ Majesty land in England, saith the Archdeacon, but
 “ the General offered him this Marriage-Proposal.” These,
 it’s true, are Mr. *Echard*’s Words in his Third Volume.
 He had said to the same Purpose in the Second ; “ That
 “ this Proposal was immediately and effectually offered
 “ by the General to the King at his Return ;” By which
 every candid and ingenuous Reader, your Lordship only
 excepted, doubtless understands that this was done upon
 the very first convenient Opportunity : And thus, as we
 may well suppose, the King himself was understood,
 when a Year afterwards he told his Parliament, that he
 had taken this matter into Consideration *ever since he*
came into England. For would any Lord or Commoner
 imagine his Majesty’s Meaning to be, what the Words li-
 terally taken import, *Ever since he set his Foot upon English*
Ground ? But your Lordship, it seems, will needs have
 it, that the Archdeacon represents the General as making
 the Proposal on the very Day of the King’s Entry into
London, possibly for the Pleasure of telling your Reader,
 “ That his Thoughts were that Day taken up about
 “ something which he liked better than a Wife of his
 “ own ;” alluding, I suppose, to some Story in a cer-
 tain Chronicle, which I have never been at Leisure to
 consult. “ The General likewise, continues your Lord-
 “ ship, had other Thoughts in his Head, *more suitable to*
 “ *the Business of That Day :* He had Two Advices upper-
 E “ most

“ most in his Heart.—— He began by representing the
 “ Necessity of preserving the Forts and Garrisons in *Scot-*
 “ *land* in the Condition in which his Majesty would find
 “ them. ” These Forts had been built and garrison’d by
 the *English* Rebels, to punish the *Scots* for having rais’d
 two of the greatest Armies, that ever march’d out of
 their Country ; the one, to re-establish the King’s Father
 upon his Throne ; the other, headed by his Majesty him-
 self, in order to effect what the General had then more
 happily accomplish’d.

Now one would think, that to advise the Demolition
 of those Forts might better agree with that Day’s Festi-
 vity. Acts of Indemnity and Indulgence are commonly
 expected from Princes at their *Joyous Entries* : And
 never was Entry more justly so call’d, than that made by
 King *Charles* into his Capital on the Nine and Twentieth
 of *May*. And was it suitable to the Business of That
 Day, instead of opening the Prison-Doors, to think of
 rivetting the Chains by which a whole Nation was held
 in Bondage, as a Reward for their Loyalty ? More suit-
 able than the Thoughts of a Royal Marriage, the only
 thing wanting, as it was then believed, to compleat the
 Happiness of that Day, by rendering it perpetual ?

But, after all, this was not the Day of King *Charles*’s
 Landing in *England*, for he came ashore on the 26th so
 early, that he got to *Canterbury* that Evening, and staid
 there

there all the next Day, being Sunday : Nor did he go farther than *Rocheſter* on the 28th. For once then let us take the Archdeacon's Words in a ſtricter Senſe than your Lordſhip puts upon them, and ſuppoſe he would have his Readers underſtand, That General *Monk* made the Overture of Marriage to the King before the 29th of *May* ; which, if I am not much miſtaken, every Reader will allow he had fair Opportunities to do, when he is told from Dr. *Skinner*, that “ In all the way of the King's “ Progreſs towards *London*, the General ” (who was taken into the King's Coach at *Dover*, and rode by his Side when they took Horſe) “ had much Freedom of Diſ- “ courſe with his Majeſty, and was admitted to all his “ private Hours. ” He muſt have a ſtrange Notion of his Excellency's Taciturnity, who can imagine, that during this Intimacy with the King, for Three Days together, he could conceal the Marriage-Propoſal from his Majeſty, or forbear entertaining him upon ſo agreeable a Subject.

I have now done with the Part which General *Monk* had in this Treaty of Marriage, which amounts to no more in Effect than your Lordſhip hath agreed to, upon Suppoſal that the firſt Overture was made to his Excellency when it was publickly known that the Reſtoration had been reſolved upon ; which, if I am not much miſtaken, hath been ſufficiently proved. For the reſt, were Mr. *Echard* now alive, he would, I believe, in his Turn

agree with your Lordship, That the General, after having at a proper time recommended the Match, with all its Advantages, to the King, to be compared and considered with any others that might be proposed, pursued it no further; and that the Chancellor then took it up.

We are now to examine the Archdeacon's Account of the Chancellor's Conduct in this Affair, which is as follows, *Vol. 3. p. 83.*

“ It is true, he did for some time come in to the
 “ general Measures then on foot, ’till he made some
 “ Discovery of the probable Consequences of the Marriage. Therefore, upon one Sunday, he begg’d of his
 “ Majesty to call a Secret or Cabinet-Council in the
 “ Red-Chamber in *White-hall*: to which the King immediately consented. At this Council, by the Chancellor’s Management, none were present but the King
 “ himself, the Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer *Southampton*,
 “ and the Duke of *Ormond*. The Chancellor acquainting
 “ the King with the Occasion of his having desired this
 “ private Meeting, said, *That he had hitherto in Obedience to his Majesty’s Orders cheerfully gone on with*
 “ *the Marriage-Treaty, without regarding what the Spanish Ambassador had to object against it, which he considered as coming from an Enemy: But that now he*
 “ *had certain Information, that this Match, if concluded,*
 “ *would bring such a Calamity upon the Nation, as he was*
 “ *sure*

“ *sure his Majesty would prevent, if it were possible: For*
 “ *he had now undoubted Proofs that the Infanta of Portugal*
 “ *was incapable of having Children.* He then produced
 “ a List of six Princesses, all Protestants, out of which
 “ his Majesty might chuse a fit and proper Wife. But
 “ the King, frowning and swelling, answer’d, that *This*
 “ *was all a Lye of the Spanish Ambassador; adding, My*
 “ *Lord, I command you to go on with the Treaty: And so*
 “ the Meeting broke up.

This Account, all but a Circumstance or two, not material to the Question in hand, perfectly agrees with what was told me by Sir *Robert Southwell*; who added further, that he had it, upon a certain Occasion which ’tis needless here to mention, from the Duke of *Ormond*.

Your Lordship’s Objections to it are;

1. That “ Mr. Archdeacon was very ill informed of
 “ the Administration of Affairs at that time, to imagine
 “ that any thing of any Nature could be done without
 “ the Chancellor’s Privy and Approbation:” For which
 you give this Reason; “ The King had been long accus-
 “ tomed to be totally resigned to his Advice during his
 “ his Exile, and continued so for the first Years of his
 “ Return; a more absolute Minister could not be.” To
 prove this total Resignation of the King, and absolute
 Power of the Minister, you bring an Instance which, in
 my

my humble Opinion, demonstrates the contrary. That others may judge for themselves, I shall repeat it in your own Words. "When it was under Consideration in what manner to distinguish the General himself, the Chancellor proposed to make him only Earl of *Essex*, with a Pension of Three thousand Pounds a Year. *The King was ashamed of the Motion.----- It was then left to Sir John Granville's Management.-----* And thus he was created Duke of *Albemarle*.

2. "Mr. Archdeacon himself confesses at last, that the Chancellor came chearfully into it for some time; which is a Self-contradiction to what he had alledged before of not being privy to it." The Treaty began without the Chancellor's Knowledge; but, when it was once set on foot, he came chearfully into it, and in obedience to his Majesty's Orders carried it on till he made some Discovery of the probable Consequences of the Marriage. Wherein lies the Contradiction?

3. "There needed not so much Ceremony for the Chancellor to tell his Mind to the Duke of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, his fast Friends, with whom he communicated every Hour of the Day." Let it be supposed that he had already told them his Mind; their Presence was never the less necessary at this Meeting, that they might join with him in dissuading the
King

King from pursuing a Treaty which was like to prove of such ill Consequence.

4. “ If the Duke of *Albemarle* was so deeply concerned, methinks he, of all Mankind, might have seemed the most necessary Man to have been summoned. ” Others for the same Reason might think the contrary, since the Duke’s Engagement to promote the Match might prejudice him against any thing the Chancellor could object against it, and become the Occasion of an unnecessary Contest, which was not unlike to ensue ; for, as we learn from your Lordship, there was no good Understanding between those two great Men.

5. “ Whilst this Treaty was in Agitation the Duke of *York* married the Chancellor’s Daughter ; ” (they were married before they came into *England*) “ and, as the Enemies of the *Portugal* Match gave out at the same time, an Incapacity in the *Infanta* of bearing Children ; if that should prove true, the Chancellor might be suspected of having made this Match to secure the Succession to his own Grand-Children.— And, since there is no being sure what Interpretations the malicious World might make, it was incumbent on him by some prudent Precaution to fence against any such lurking Slander : And great Pity it was, that instead of making any such Declaration, as Mr. Archdeacon pretends, privately, before two only of his
“ select

" select Friends, it was not made openly in full Council,
 " so as to stand the Test in all Events." But your
 Lordship very honourably acquits the Chancellor of any
 Consent or Privity to the Duke's Match, tho' we do not
 find that he ever made any Declaration of his Innocence
 in full Council. " He was, you say, a Man of too strict
 " Probity and Honour to be capable of any such wicked
 " Policy." And for that Reason ought to be as little
 or less suspected of having contrived the King's Marriage
 as the Duke's. In relation to the former, his Lordship
 might think he had sufficiently acquitted himself of his
 Duty, by having not once or twice, but often, as we
 shall see anon, acquainted the King of his Apprehensions
 of what was like to ensue upon it ; and, when his own
 Remonstrances proved ineffectual, by calling in those two
 most Honourable Personages now mentioned to his As-
 sistance. Besides, he might think, that his having them
 for Witnesses was Precaution sufficient against any fini-
 ster Suspicion of his Conduct ; since the Testimony of
 either would clear him in the Judgment of all unpre-
 judiced Persons. As for the *Malicious World*, former
 Experience had made him sure, that they would put the
 worst Construction upon any thing he could do or
 say. And 'tis plain, that any Declaration his Lordship
 might make, tho' in full Council, would be no Fence
 against *Lurking Slander*, since That made of his Innocence
 on another occasion, by the King himself, which his Ma-
 jesty ordered to be enter'd upon the Council-Book, and
 signed

signed with his own Hand, could not prevent a Revival of that senseless Calumny of the Chancellor's Conference and Correspondence with *Cromwell*; which, after having lurked for some Years, was trump'd up again, and made an Article of Impeachment.

6. " It appears, that upon his Majesty's communicating to his Parliament his Intention of marrying, the Chancellor, in a set deliberate Speech, delivers his Opinion, that this Marriage would be the most grateful News the whole Kingdom could receive.— Upon the Rising of the same Parliament his Lordship, in another publick Oration in the same Place, enlarges yet further upon the Blessings to be expected from this Match. After having expatiated upon the manifold Felicities of the Nation at that time, he concludes, That there wanted only one Blessing more, the Arrival of the Queen, whom God had now safely brought to the Nation: A Queen of such rare Endowments of Wisdom, Virtue, and Piety, that they might from her reasonably promise themselves all the Happiness they were capable of.

" After such publick solemn Declarations of his Mind, *from the first to the last*, with what Face can any Man say, this Marriage was begun without his Privy, and concluded without his Approbation? No Man shall persuade me that this honest Minister, so quoted for

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“ his Sincerity and Uprightness, could so egregiously
 “ prevaricate with the Publick, if these were not his
 “ real Thoughts.”

The Matter of Fact is plain, and can neither be denied nor defended. It is certain that these and the like Expressions are to be found in Speeches made by the Chancellor in full Parliament. And far be it from me to justify any Man, who, upon any account, shall affirm with his Mouth that which in his Heart he believes to be untrue. But *then great Pity it is* that your Lordship was not a little more exact in marking out the Time when these Speeches were made ; and that you did not more clearly express what we are to understand by these Words, *From the first to the last* ; which, as they plainly refer to the Chancellor's two Speeches, might give Occasion for an unattentive Reader to imagine, that the one was spoken when the Marriage-Treaty was just entered upon, and the other when it was coming to a Conclusion : Had that been the Case, and the Chancellor had failed to declare his real Sentiments, whilst there was room left for Debate, Prevarication would have been too soft a Name for the Crime which might have been justly charged upon him. But that was not the Case. The Time of Deliberation was quite over, and the Marriage concluded upon before any Mention was made of it in Parliament ; which was not 'till the 8th of *May*, 1661 ; when the King, at the Opening of his second Parliament, did not only *com-*
municate

municate his Intention of marrying, as advising with them what he should do, or where he should fix his Choice; but roundly told them that he was resolved, both to marry, and whom he would marry; and that the *Portuguese* Ambassador was then departing with the Treaty signed. This was the Day on which the first of those Speeches was made. The other was on the 19th of *May*, 1662, when the Queen's Arrival in *England* was known. Your Lordship will hardly think it to have been the Chancellor's Business on these Occasions to entertain the Lords and Commons with his Suspicions that the Marriage was like to prove unfruitful; and by that means to alarm the whole Nation with Fears and Jealousies: Or pronounce him guilty of Prevarication, if, finding it in vain for him to struggle any longer, he endeavoured to make the best of what he could not help. Besides, it was his Part, on these and the like Occasions, to deliver, not his own Sentiments, but the King's. For, whilst it was customary for our Princes at the Opening and Close of a Session, after they had spoken so much as they thought convenient, to refer the Houses for what remain'd to their Chancellors; these never presumed to deliver either more or less, than they had received in Command from their Masters. In effect this noble Lord, in the Passages quoted out of his Speeches, does but enlarge upon what the King had said before, when he ended His with these Words; "I make all the haste I

"can to fetch you a Queen hither, *who, I doubt not,*
will bring great Blessings with her to me and you.

How far such a Procedure is reconcilable with that Integrity and Uprightness which were so conspicuous in this Great Man on other Occasions, I presume not to determine; but insist upon it, that we are not to judge of his real Thoughts, or of what passed between the King and him in Private, from any thing that fell from him in these occasional Harangues. It was a Maxim with him and with other Persons of Probity and Honour in that Reign, Secretary *Coventry* in particular, to screen their Master from the Blame of such ill Measures as he had followed contrary to their Advice, by taking it upon themselves. "He never gave bad Advices;" saith Bishop *Burnet* of the Secretary, "but, when the King followed the ill Advices that others gave, he thought himself bound to excuse, if not to justify them." And of the Lord Chancellor, "He had such a Regard to the King, that when Places were disposed of, even otherwise than as he had advised, yet would he justify what the King did, and disparage the Pretensions of others, not without much Scorn, which created him many Enemies;" and, by the way, seems to have been one great Occasion of his Fall.

Nor is my Lord of *Sarum* the only Historian who takes notice of the Difference observed between this
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Great Man's publick and private Conduct. That impartial Writer, whoever he is, that hath published the Lives of the Lord Chancellors, as much as he celebrates his Lordship's Virtues, acknowledges it for an undoubted Truth, " That he was necessitated to say many things in " Publick, which he did not well like within himself. " He gives the above-mentioned Speeches at full Length, and yet asserts the Story of his having contrived the Match with *Portugal*, " which was afterwards thro' the " Malice of Enemies and Credulity of the unthinking " Populace trump'd up to the Chancellor's Disadvantage, " to be as great a Piece of Forgery and Falshood as ever " could be put upon any Man. "

When the War with *Holland* had been carried on for some time we find his Lordship, in the Speech he made to the Parliament at *Oxford*, defending the Measures taken, in reference to that War, with no less Eloquence than he had used in magnifying the mighty Advantages that were like to accrue from the Match with *Portugal*; and we may as well argue from that Speech that he approved of the War, as from the others that he promoted the Match. But how forcible the Argument will prove may be gathered from what he says in his Petition to the House of Lords: " In my humble Opinion the great " Misfortunes of the Kingdom have proceeded from the " War, to which it was notoriously known that I always " was averse; and I may without Vanity say, I did not " only

“ only foresee, but did declare the Mischiefs we should
 “ run into by entering into a War.” Again, “ As I did
 “ from my Soul abhor the entering into this War, so I
 “ never presumed to give any Advice or Counsel for the
 “ way of managing it.”

By this it seems the Lord Chancellor did not think himself answerable for any thing he had said in Parliament upon the same Subject by the King's Order : Nor do we find that his most inveterate Enemies did ever take Occasion from that Speech, or this Petition, to charge him with either having advised and approved of the *Dutch War*, or of having *prevaricated with the Publick* ; and it seems somewhat unaccountable, that a Person of your Lordship's Candour should, upon no better Grounds, be thus severe upon his Memory. Let me add, that it looks yet more strange, to see *Prevarication* so much as named, or charged as a Crime upon any Man, in a *Vindication* of General Monk.

Your Lordship seems resolved not to be satisfy'd with any thing that can be offered in the Archdeacon's Defence, let it come from what Hand it will. You allow, it's true, that he “ could not have pitched upon a Name
 “ of more Weight and Authority than Sir Robert South-
 “ well's ; and this, notwithstanding Sir Robert's being
 “ an intimate Friend to the Duke of Ormond, and by
 “ Consequence no less devoted to the Chancellor.” You
 grant,

grant, that " his Veracity is not to be doubted in what-
 " ever he has given under his Hand, to his own Know-
 " ledge ; " whereby you seem to intimate, that these
 Concessions are null and of no Effect, in case any Manu-
 script of that Gentleman should be produced, unless it
 shall prove to be of his own Hand-writing ; and, if that
 should be sufficiently proved, unless the Matters therein
 contained were of his own Knowledge : So that, in
 case your Lordship shall insist upon these Restrictions,
 we must give up the Archdeacon's Credit for lost, at
 least Sir *Robert Southwell's* Authority is like to avail him-
 nothing. I have seen large Collections of Papers dictated
 by that Gentleman, among which I remember very few,
 and those but short Sketches, of his own Writing ;
 Writing being so very uneasy to him, that, as I have
 Reason to believe, he seldom made use of his own Hand
 in his own familiar Letters, any further than to sign and
 frank them. Nor do I believe, that he had any Personal
 Knowledge of the Matters in Question, those having
 been transacted some Years before he was employed in
 publick Affairs. He hath told me, as I remember, that
 he was but Five and twenty, when sent Envoy Extra-
 ordinary into *Portugal*, at which Court he arrived about
 the Beginning of 1666.

But during his Residence there he had frequent Op-
 portunities to converse with *Dom Francisco de Mello*, then
Marquis de Sande, and *Father Russell*, at that time Bi-
 shop

shop of *Portalegre*, to which See he had been nominated, as he was afterwards to that of *Viseu*, by the Crown of *Portugal*, for the Services he had done in the Marriage-Treaty, and on other Occasions : With him Sir *Robert* was familiarly conversant, as well in *England* as in *Portugal* ; for he was employed in divers Messages and Negotiations between the two Courts.

I do not doubt but Sir *Robert* had his Account of what passed between General *Monk* and *Dom Francisco de Mello* from that Bishop, if not likewise from *Dom Francisco* himself ; and I no more question the Truth of what he told me, as having had it from the Duke of *Ormond*, concerning the Chancellor's Conduct in this Affair, than if I had heard it from the Duke's own Mouth. Your Lordship in all likelihood expects that the same Credit should be given to your own *secret Discoveries*, tho' the Matters discovered were transacted before you were born, or before you were of an Age to be personally concerned in them, or perhaps to be informed of them at the first Hand ; so that in relating them you cannot in any respect speak of your own Knowledge. And can your Lordship think the Want of such Knowledge sufficient to destroy the Credit of those whom you otherwise allow to be Persons of undoubted Veracity ? Give me leave here to repeat the Words with which you conclude your Letter to a late Correspondent ; " Have a
 " care of Arguments that may turn against yourself ;
 " Judge

"*Judge not that ye be not judged;*" and to add the Reason given for this divine Precept; *For with what measure you mete, it shall be measured to you again.*

I am at a Loss for your Lordship's Meaning in what follows. "But, without having a Sight of the Manuscript referred to by the Archdeacon, I dare say, he (Sir Robert) no where charges the Duke of *Albemarle* with "being the Conductor and Concluder of this Marriage, "independent on the Chancellor." For, had you a Sight of the Manuscript, I dare say you would find in it no such thing. I am sure I never heard Sir *Robert Southwell* lay any such Charge on the General, nor can I find any thing like it in the Archdeacon's History: All that Sir *Robert's* Authority can be vouched for is, that the General well approved of the Marriage-Proposal when made to him by the *Portuguese* Ambassador, and that he undertook to promote it; which, as the Archdeacon tells, he did effectually, very soon after the King's Return. As for the Conduct and Conclusion of this, as well as of other Treaties, when the Government came to be settled upon its own Bottom, they were no Part of the General's Province: When this was once set on foot, there was another Person ready and able to conduct and carry it on, independent of the Chancellor, and of the General too; I mean the Queen-Mother, who came over from *France* on purpose to push it forward, (in case the Offer of *Mazarin's* Niece should be rejected, as it was) which

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she did upon very powerful Motives. As for that part of the Treaty which was purely ministerial, the Chancellor, no doubt, pursued it with great Alacrity, 'till he foresaw, as he thought, the Mischiefs that were like to ensue; and even afterwards went on with it, when the King refusing to admit of his Remonstrances, commanded him so to do. But, it no more follows from thence, that this Marriage was his Act and Deed, than any other Match is of their making, who are entrusted to settle the Portion and Jointure, or employ'd in drawing up the Writings.

Your Lordship, it seems, will not allow that there was any real Ground for such Remonstrances as we suppose the Chancellor made to the King: You deny that "the *Infanta's* Incapacity of bearing Children was ever proved or acknowledged." Whether Matters of this sort be capable of Proof, is more than I know; it is not likely they'll be acknowledged by the Persons concern'd. It was Cause sufficient for the Chancellor to take the Alarm, and to warn his Master of the Danger, in case the thing was believed upon any probable Presumption. Mr. *Eckard*, I'm sure, hath dealt fairly with his Reader, by acquainting him with what hath been alledged on one side and t'other, which he had for the most part from myself. He says very truly, That this supposed Incapacity could not be imputed to the *Infanta's* Age or Country. I have seen a Woman near *Lisbon* with a Child of her own in her Arms, who seemed to be near Fifty Years

Years old ; and, upon my taking notice of it, was told, that Women there, if they marry sooner than those of other Countries, which is commonly the Case, sooner cease to bear Children, and not otherwise. So that if there was any Truth in the Report concerning the Incapacity of this Princess, it must, as the Archdeacon observes, be upon account of some peculiar Infirmities of Body. But such a Report there certainly was, and that before the Marriage was completed. Mr. *John Pollexfin*, a Countryman of your Lordship's, was a Person so eminent in divers respects, that in all likelihood he was well known to your Lordship; and, if so, he may have acquainted you with what I have heard from him myself, namely, that, when the Earl of *Sandwich* came with a Fleet to conduct the Queen to *England*, this Matter was the common Subject of Discourse among our Merchants at *Lisbon* ; and, that they (he, Mr. *Pollexfin* being one of the Number) remonstrated to his Lordship, that the King was not like to have Issue by this Marriage.

Possibly the Report may have been confirmed, if not raised, by the Dutches of *Guadaloupa*, whose Brother, the Duke of *Aveiro*, went over from *Portugal* to *Castille* (and she with him, as I suppose) about the Time when this Marriage was agreed upon. I am sure, Sir *Robert Southwell* told me, that, being at *Madrid* when the News came thither of our Queen's Miscarriage, he waited on that Lady to acquaint her with it ; which having done,

he added, that there being now Cause to expect a future Pregnancy, he hoped it would be attended with a more happy Success. But the Dutchess, who had been acquainted with the Queen *from her Infancy and in the Nursery* (they are Sir Robert Southwell's own Words) shaking her Head, gave him to understand, that she look'd upon such Hopes to be altogether groundless.

But your Lordship, on the other side, hath "heard
 " many Ladies of equal Quality with the Dutchess of
 " *Guadaloupa*, some of them your near Relations, who
 " had the Honour to attend her Majesty's Person from
 " her first coming to *England* to her Dying-day, affirm
 " it " (the Incapacity aforesaid) " to be a false Imputa-
 " tion." I have, as I told Mr. *Echard*, several times
 heard the same thing affirmed by one Lady, who had the
 Honour of being ally'd to your Lordship's Family; and
 and was the only Protestant of her Rank and Sex that
 attended the Queen at *Lisbon*, I mean the Lady *Wyche*,
 who declared, that to her Knowledge her Majesty was
 in a Child-bearing Condition, 'till after King *Charles's*
 Death. I doubt not but that each of these Ladies had
 some particular Reason on which to ground their Opinion,
 so that great Deference is due to the Testimony both of
 the one and of the other. But I do not see how any
 Difference in their Quality should affect the Credibility
 of their Evidence on either side. However, since your
 Lordship seems to lay some Stress upon That, I beg leave
 to

to acquaint you, That the House of *Aveiro* hath always been considered as near upon the Level, if not wholly equal to that of *Bragança*. One Reason, why those of the former chose to continue in *Castille* after the Peace made with *Portugal*, is thought to have been a Resolution taken by them not to acknowledge any Superiority in the other. The Name *de Lancastro*, which, I know not for what Reason, was given to their Ancestor *Dom Jorge* Duke of *Coimbra*, by King *John II.* of *Portugal*, hath occasioned their being accounted of as descended from the Royal Family of *England*. Nor have our Kings thought fit to disclaim the Relation, as will appear from the following Article in the Instructions given to Sir *Richard Fanshawe*, when he went Ambassador from King *Charles II.* into *Spain*. “ You shall visit in our Name
 “ the Duke of *Aveiro* and his Sister, assuring them of our
 “ Friendship and particular Concernment for their Per-
 “ sons ; for their Name, and Royal Blood of which they
 “ are descended, and promising them all the Effects of it
 “ within our Power.” Upon this account it was, that *English* Persons of Quality, Sir *Robert Southwell* among others, when at *Madrid*, made their Court to the Dutchess of *Guadaloupa*.

Your Lordship, having done with the Archdeacon, hath
 “ something to say to Bishop *Burnet* on the same Subject.”
 The Bishop was told by Sir *Robert Southwell*, “ That
 “ *Monk's* Promise to serve the Interests of *Portugal* was
 “ the

“ the first Step towards the Marriage.” This agreeing, as it does, with the Archdeacon’s Account, adds Strength to his Testimony, and is confirmed by it. If they differ as to any other Particular, it is a further Confirmation, that they had both of them This from Sir *Robert Southwell*; and that neither of them had it from the other. But between them, says your Lordship, “ Sir *Robert* is made to contradict himself: The one had it from his Manuscript, that the Ambassador proposed the Marriage; and the other, that it was a *Portuguese Jew*: “ His Word is produced against his Hand.” In order to make out the Contradiction, we must, it seems, suppose it to be impossible that two Persons could be severally employ’d to make the same Proposal, at different Times: Or, that the Ambassador should repeat and urge what had before been *Moved* by an inferior Agent. But then my Lord of *Sarum* does not quote Sir *Robert*’s Authority, where he speaks of the Person who first made the Motion; his Lordship might have some other Author for That. It is afterwards, and at some Distance, that he says, “ *Monk* promised to serve the Interests of *Portugal*; and that was, as Sir *Robert Southwell* told me, the first Step made in that Matter.” This Promise might well be, and doubtless was made to the Ambassador, and to him only; and that very consistently with what the Bishop had said before, “ That *Monk* began to hearken to a Motion made him for This “ by a *Jew*, that managed the Concerns of *Portugal*.”

The

The Person here designed was, I suppose, one of those whom in *Portugal* they call *New Christians*; who, being commonly reputed to be of a *Jewish* Race, are for that Reason often forced to fly their Country for fear of the Inquisition, be they ever so sincere in their Profession of Christianity; and are sometimes commissioned to do Business for the Crown of *Portugal* in the Places where they are settled. I have, as I remember, been told, that one of these, a Physician and a professed Christian, who for many Years lived in or near to *Somerset-House*, was occasionally thus employed. And of another, who, tho' a declared *Jew*, served as *Consul* for the *Portuguese* Nation at *Amsterdam*. And why might not *Dom Francisco de Mello* order some such an Under-Agent to feel General *Monk's* Pulse, before he ventured to make the Proposal himself?

What your Lordship adds concerning Hear-say Evidence, will equally hold against almost all the History we have, whether antient or modern, not excepting your Lordship's own Discoveries, since the Subject of them are Matters transacted above seventy Years ago. If it hath any Force, it must certainly overthrow their Testimony, whom you produce as Witnesses on t'other side of the Question, since neither of them could say any thing to the Purpose, of his own Knowledge. For neither of them was upon the Place of Action, whilst the Marriage-Treaty was on foot. However, since your Lordship insists upon

upon their *Evidence* as *unquestionable*, *authentick*, and *sufficient* to clear all Doubt, Decency requires, that they be permitted to make their Appearance ; and that, before we take their Depositions, we consider their Characters and Circumstances, to see whether something may not be found to compensate their Want of personal Knowledge. But, when all is done, their being *Hear-say* Witnesses will, I believe, prove the least of many Objections that may be made to their Evidence.

The first, and in truth the only material Witness, comes introduced under the Titles of the *Sieur d'Ablancourt*,—— a Minister——from *France*,—— and Resident at the Court of *Portugal*, and that too, at the very time when the Marriage-Proposal was made. Pardon me, my Lord, if I cannot upon this Occasion help thinking of a Story that goes of the famous Mr. *Pym* ; who, when Preparations were making for the Lord *Strafford's* Trial, distinguished among the *Irish* Evidence, that came to offer their Service, a poor shabby Fellow, whose Testimony might be thought to have some Weight, did it but come from a Person more decently clothed ; and thereupon equipp'd him with a Sattin-Suite and Cloak, after the Fashion of those Times ; that so his Evidence might be considered according to the Figure he should make at the Trial. I would not hereby insinuate that your Lordship hath dress'd up your prime Witness with all the foresaid Titles : But dress'd he is, in an Attire which does not
in

in any respect belong to him. This was in some measure done to your hands: It was apparently the Bookseller who honoured him with the Surname of *d'Ablandcourt* without Distinction; and he gives himself such grand Airs in several Places of his Book, that they who have not read him thro' with some Attention (a Task which I question much whether any Person of your Lordship's Judgment and Taste hath been able to perform) would be apt to take him for a Man of some Importance.

In effect, he was not the Person commonly known in the learned World by the Name of *d'Ablandcourt*; that Gentleman, if I mistake not, died about the Year 1661. The Memoirs of This reach to 1668, and he lived many Years afterwards. The Name that he commonly went by in *Portugal* was *Fremont*. He sometimes, 'tis true, takes upon him the additional Title of *d'Ablandcourt*, but by what Right I know not, nor think it worth the while to enquire. He was indeed near of Kin to the famous Translator, but the Kindred came in by the Mother's side, he being the Son of that Gentleman's Sister.

A Minister from *France*, or from any other Court, he was not, if we understand by *Minister*, one authorised to represent the Person of his Sovereign, or to act in his Behalf at the Court of another Prince. For he says (*p. 122* of the *Translation* quoted by your Lordship) *That he had no Publick Character*: And afterwards, *p. 126*,

H

speaking

speaking of himself, he hath these Words; "*Fremont*, who
 " had carried thither (to *Portugal*) neither Letters of
 " Credit, nor was there invested with any Character that
 " might give him any.——

He was not Resident at the Court, or in the Kingdom
 of *Portugal*, in any Quality whether publick or private,
 when the Marriage-Proposal was made: The first time
 that he set his Foot on Shore in that Country, was a good
 while after the Marriage had been concluded and con-
 summated, namely *March 16, 1663, (style loci.)* He was
 sent thither by the Vicount *de Turenne*, who managed
 the War in *Portugal* on the Part of *France*, whilst that
 Court was ashamed to act in open Violation of the *Pyr-
 renean Treaty*. But upon what Errand *Fremont* was sent
 into *Portugal*, or what was his Business there, he no
 where tells in direct Terms: All that I can gather from
 him is, That he was employ'd as a kind of Commissary
 of the Musters, or Treasurer of War to those *French Re-
 giments* which were then in the Service of that Crown;
 to which sort of Business he had, as he says, been ac-
 customed for seven Years before; and, which is more,
 had been intirely taken up with it, upon the *Frontiers*
 of *Ardennes*. What Opportunity he could have there,
 whilst thus taken up, to acquaint himself with the secret
 Negotiations, which were carrying on for the three pre-
 ceding Years, in the Courts of *France*, *England*, and *Por-
 tugal*, is, I suppose, best known to your Lordship. In
Portugal

Portugal he staid about two Years, during which time he seems to have acquitted himself of his proper Charge with great Fidelity and Diligence. But, not content with that, we find him upon Occasions assuming to himself the Direction of Affairs as well Civil as Military, undertaking to instruct that raw and unexperienced Minister, the *Conde de Castelmelhor*, how to behave upon any great Emergency: In Return for which good Offices the *Conde* served him that scurvy Trick, of which he gives an account in his Memoirs. With Count *Schomberg*, if we believe him, he was in the most intimate Confidence, and consulted by him in Matters of the greatest Importance. And, what Esteem that General had of his Friend *Fremont's* Abilities, you shall hear presently.

When these Memoirs were printed at *Paris*, and Copies of the Book brought to *England*, I was given to understand by some Persons of Distinction, that the Author's Relation of certain memorable Transactions differ'd much from an Account of the same, that had been published in *English* about a Year before; and that partly from Instructions given by Sir *Robert Southwell*. With this I acquainted Sir *Robert*, desiring to know his Opinion of the Piece, and of its Author. That Honourable Person was pleased to send me the Book, with some Animadversions upon it; wherein, among other great Mistakes, he takes notice of the Author's "feigning that *Monsieur Schomberg*, touching in *England*" (when upon his

Voyage to Portugal) “ was a great Instrument in the “ Marriage ” of King Charles II. He afterwards honour’d me with a Letter, dated *Spring-Garden, June 23, 1701*, which began thus, “ Having yesterday visited my Lord “ *Galway*, as he lay lame on his Couch, I have hastily “ dictated that which pass’d in our Discourse. ” Within the same Cover he sent a Paper of *Memorandums* to be used in a Work which was then in hand, but for certain Reasons was laid aside before it could be finished.

In the first of these it is said, That “ *Monsieur le Vasseur* “ affirmed the Book in question to have been certainly “ written by *Fremont*, alias *d’Ablancourt*. Lord *Galway*, “ continues Sir *Robert*, affirms the same; adding, that “ *Fremont* shewed his Papers to old Duke *Schomberg*; “ who, upon reading them over, told his Lady, that he “ had been ill employ’d in reading many Lyes. Why “ then, said the Lady, do not you correct them? No, “ said he, the poor Man is not capable of such a Work, “ or of Advice; and therefore I will let him have his “ Papers again, without saying any thing to him.

“ My Lord *Galway* also having lately read the Book, “ told me of many Faults therein; as there were in a “ former Attempt of his, to write the *Life of Monsieur* “ *de Turenne*: That he had not *Genius* for such a Work, “ nor for any thing more than a particular Office.

In another Letter, dated *Spring-Garden*, 11th of *July*, 1701, Sir *Robert* condescended to communicate to me the Censure pass'd on the same Author by Duke *Schomberg* the Son ; which, tho' much shorter, is yet more severe. I shall therefore pass it over. These Letters, signed with Sir *Robert Southwell's* Hand, together with the Paper of *Memorandums*, are still in my Keeping, and will be shewn to any Person in or about *Cambridge*, whom your Lordship shall appoint to examine them.

Justice requires I should add, that I have likewise by me a Letter from a *French* Minister, who knew Mr. *Fremont* at the *Hague*, where he lived for some Years a *Refugié* ; who gives an extraordinary good Character of him, in respect to his moral Qualities, and says, that he was much considered by the late Queen *Mary*, when Princess of *Orange* : But then for his Memoirs, which were the Subject of my Enquiry, He thinks that Gentleman took no great Pains about them, having patched them together from *Hear-says*, which he had picked up here and there in *Portugal* among those he had to do with : That the Business, with which he was taken up, would not suffer him to consult with many People of that Country, or to seek Information from intelligent Persons. “ Je m' imagine qu'il avoit composé ces Memoires-là avec assez de Negligence, & sur ce qu'il avoit entendu dire par-ci parlà en *Portugal*, à ceux avec qui il

“ il avoit affaire : car on voit bien que son Emploi & ses
 “ Occupations ne luy permettoient point d’y consulter
 “ beaucoup de Monde, & de chercher les gens les mieux
 “ instruits.” This Gentleman is likewise of Opinion, that
Monsieur Fremont never designed to publish his Memoirs,
 not doubting but that in time he became sensible of his
 many Mistakes, and how ill he had been informed.
 There is good Reason for this Conjecture, since the Book
 was printed, not ’till some Years after the Author’s
 Death, and then too not in *Holland*, where he died, but
 at *Paris*, where it seems he left it behind when he fled
 to *Holland*, either thro’ Forgetfulness, or looking upon
 it as no better than Waste-Paper. However, let us hear
 what he says to the Point in question.

“ The *Portuguese* understanding that the *English* had
 “ invited home their King, they sent *Francisco de Mello*
 “ --- in Quality of Ambassador Extraordinary to congra-
 “ tulate his Return.” We found *Dom Francisco* upon
 the Place, and in Treaty with General *Monk* just before
 the King’s Arrival, and applying to his Majesty himself
 in a very short time after his Landing: So that it may
 seem more probable, that he, continuing still here, re-
 ceiv’d his new Credentials and Instructions from *Lisbon*,
 than that he made a Voyage on purpose to fetch them.
 But this Mistake, if it be one, is not worth insisting
 upon.

“ And

" And the Queen (Regent) gave him in Charge to
 " confer with Chancellor *Hyde*, and to dispose him to
 " engage the King his Master to espouse the *Infanta* of
 " *Portugal*." As no doubt she did, and would have
 done, were she ever so well assured of the General's En-
 deavours to promote the Match. A Lord High-Chan-
 cellor of *England*, being at the same time Prime Minister
 of State, in the utmost Confidence with his Master, and
 Chief Director in all matters of Importance that con-
 cern'd either King or Kingdom, was not to be pass'd by
 unregarded, but address'd to in the first Place, on this
 great Occasion. Your Lordship thinks it "*Plain from*
 "*this Paragraph*, that the General had not charg'd him-
 " self with this Negotiation." And without this Pa-
 ragraph Every-body else would have thought so, if we
 are to understand by Negotiation the Formalities of a
 Treaty, such as digesting it into Articles, and drawing
 up the same in due Form, ascertaining the Portion, fix-
 ing the Times of Payment, assigning the Jointure, &c.
 For, as you rightly observe elsewhere, " Foreign Nego-
 " tiations (understood in this Sense) Marriages, Alliances,
 " and Settlements, were intirely the Chancellor's Province.
 " The General had no share in Transactions of that sort : "
 For which Cause whatsoever was to be done of that kind,
 before the King's actual Return, Mr. *Morrice* and Mr.
Russel, as the Archdeacon reports from Sir *Robert's* Manu-
 script, transacted it between them ; and, upon his Ma-
 jesty's

jeſty's Arrival it came in Courſe under the Chancellor's Direction ; who for the ſame Reaſon was, according to the Forms, the principal, if not the only Perſon the Ambaſſador had to deal with : So that we may well ſuppoſe, that his Inſtructions directed him to the Chancellor in the firſt Place. Nor is there any Cauſe to doubt, that he, the Chancellor, readily embraced and purſued the Marriage-Propoſal, or, as *Fremont* ſays, *perſuaded the King* to comply with the ſame, *in ſpite of all Oppoſition of the Spaniards* ; ſince, as he afterwards told his Maſteſty (and that, by your Lordſhip's Leave, without the leaſt ſemblance of a Contradiction) “ He had chearfully “ gone on with the Treaty, without regarding what the “ *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador had to object againſt it, which he “ conſidered as coming from an Enemy. ” But it does by no means follow that he was the firſt Contriver, or principal Promoter of the Match : This very Witneſs, whom your Lordſhip produces to prove that he was, did not think ſo ; for he aſcribes that Honour to one, of whom it may, I believe, be truly ſaid, what your Lordſhip affirms of the General, “ That there is not the leaſt mention ſo much as of “ his Name throughout the whole Courſe and Progreſs of “ the Treaty. ” *viz.* to Count *Schomberg* ; who, as *Fremont* teſtifies, “ When he came over into *England* from “ *Holland*, in order to embark for *Portugal*, had ſeveral “ Conferences with Chancellor *Hyde*, and afterwards with “ the King himſelf, to whom he propoſed this Match ; “ and, when he arrived at *Portugal*, this was one of the “ firſt

“ first Matters he communicated to the Queen, which she “ greatly approved of.” And this shews what little Regard is due to any thing said by *Fremont*, when he speaks of Things done before his Arrival in *Portugal*. Count *Schomberg* touched in *England*, as I take it, about the middle of *October*, 1660. By which time the Treaty was in all likelihood very far advanced; as may appear, not only from what the King told the Parliament, as before mentioned, but from a Proclamation dated the 6th of the said Month and Year, “ Declaring a Confirmation of “ former Treaties, and the Continuation of the Amity and “ Commerce between the Crowns of *England* and *Portugal*.” Which Bishop *Kennet* in his Register supposes to have been done in view of the intended Marriage.

It is in no wise probable, that so high spirited a Lady, as the Queen Regent of *Portugal* is known to have been, would by a publick and solemn Embassy make an Offer of her Daughter in Marriage, without some previous Assurances that she was not like to meet with a Repulse. Her late Disappointment in *France* had, no doubt, render'd her more cautious than ordinary in a Matter of so great and so tender a Concernment. And, since this Offer was made so very soon after the King's Return, who so like to give such Assurances as General *Monk*, with whom her Ambassador had just before been in Treaty, and who had so highly obliged his Excellency, by the Notice given him of the Design which the *Spaniards* had upon the

King's Person? But there is not, saith your Lordship, the least mention of the Duke of *Albemarle's* Name throughout the whole Course and Progress of the Treaty. Which I should believe, had your Lordship added, That you have seen a particular Account of the Treaty; which *Monsieur Fremont* does not pretend to give. And yet it would not follow, that the Duke of *Albemarle* was unconcerned in this Affair. I have seen the *Acts and Negotiations, together with the particular Articles at large*, of the general Peace concluded at *Ryswick*, wherein the Names of the Duke of *Portland* or of *Mareschal Boufflers* are not so much as once mentioned; and yet, I believe, that those two Great Men will be represented to Posterity, as having contributed more to the bringing that Treaty to a speedy Conclusion, than all the Negotiators at *Ryswick*.

Earl

“ But, in case the General was so far concerned in this Affair as Mr. *Echard* pretends, the *Instruction* would have been to join [the Chancellor] with him in disposing the King his Master, &c. ” But can your Lordship think that the Ambassador's Instructions were all contained in this Paragraph? Or, that *Fremont* was able to give an Account of their Contents? Consider, my Lord, that which he gives of the Speeches made by the King and the Chancellor to the Parliament, in the following Paragraph, as the same is quoted at Length by yourself, and from thence judge, what Credit this Man deserves, when

when he speaks of the Ambassador's Instructions, and of what pass'd between the King and his Chancellor in private.

He there makes the King to declare, that He " had come to a Conclusion *with his Chancellor* and the Marquis *de Sande* to espouse the *Infanta* of *Portugal*." The Chancellor is not once named in the Speech, but when he is bid to tell the Parliament what his Majesty had further to acquaint them with. " After this, continues *Fre-mont*, the Chancellor represented at great Length, That the *Portuguese*, upon his Majesty's Return, had demanded to renew their Alliance, but that his Majesty had refused it, 'till such time as he had the Advice of his Parliament, what he should do as to the Ten Thousand Men that had been promised them by the Usurper." But neither is there any Mention of these 10,000 Men in the Chancellor's Speech, nor in fact did the King ever advise with his Parliament about them: For, before the Lords and Commons knew any thing of the Matter, it had been finally agreed, that the *Portugueses*, instead of a License to levy that Number of Men, should have Three Veteran Regiments sent to their Assistance. There is as little Truth in what this your Lordship's Witness adds, *viz.* " The Ambassadors of *Portugal* hearing of this Speech, and fearing what might be the Sequel, came with new Offers." For before This their last Offers had been made and accepted, of which we have the most

authentic Proof in the King's Speech made on the same Day, viz. May the 8th, 1661; in which his Majesty tells the Parliament, *That the Ambassador was then departing with the Treaty signed.*

These Speeches, as we may well suppose, were no sooner made than published to the World, and become a considerable Article of News in all the neighbouring Parts of *Christendom*. But *Monsieur Fremont*, it seems, was so intent upon discovering false Musters in the *French Troops* upon the Frontiers of *Ardennes*, that he never read or never minded them, as any one may perceive who will compare them with what your Lordship hath quoted from him. And shall one thus employ'd, and thus ignorant of what Every-body, who had the least Curiosity, could not but know, be admitted as a competent Witness of the Resolutions taken in the Cabinet Councils of *England* and *Portugal*, or of *France* itself; and of the secret Negotiations of their respective Ministers? And after all he says little or nothing to the Purpose, that hath the least Appearance of Truth, which may not be reconciled to Mr. *Echard's* Account of that Transaction.

It is now time to call in your Lordship's *Corroborating Witness*, as you stile the Count *d'Estrades*; one, who is universally acknowledged to have been a very great Man; as well in the Field, as in the Cabinet: Whose Testimony your Lordship might well have insisted upon,

as

as no less authentic in this Case than in that of *Dunkirk*, had the Count been equally concerned in both Treaties. But he appears to have been an utter Stranger to that of the Marriage, which was all over some Months before his first Arrival in *England*, after the King's Return. And he was, as it seems, both then, and afterwards when he came to treat about *Dunkirk*, so wholly taken up with the Business that brought him hither, or came directly in his way, as to want both Curiosity and Leisure for Enquiries about Matters which were no longer upon the Carpet. The Truth is, this great Man's Inquisitiveness seems to have been confined to the Business which he had at any time in hand. *Wicquefort*, whom we may suppose to have known him well in *Holland*, represents him as a Person of *peu d'étude & beaucoup d'habilité*. The Knowledge he had was such as he acquired by his own Practice and Experience, and seldom extended further: And, as 'tis commonly observed of those who addict themselves to one particular Art or Science, the more they excel in That, the less they understand of the rest; so it might be said of the Count *d'Estrades*, in relation to publick Affairs, That he had a perfect Insight into such as came under his own Management, or in which he bore a Part; and was no less ignorant of those in which he had nothing to do. Instances to prove this are not wanting in those very Letters in which his great Abilities appear so much to Advantage; as where, speaking of the famous *Dutch* Admiral *Peter Hein*, he calls him
Pintrekens;

Pintreken; in another Place he stiles the Duke of *Ossuna* *le Duc d'Auxone*; and, in more than one or two, the Earl of *Inchiquin*, who was so well known not only in *Ireland* and *England*, but in *France* likewise, *Milord Jusquin*: Which Blunders cannot be imputed to the Printer, or an unskilful Copist; for the Editor assures us he found them in the Original Letters, the very same, I suppose, that were taken out of the *French* King's Library. Now one, so little acquainted with such Names was not, we may be sure, over-diligent in his Enquiries after Things lying out of his Way, and which made no Part of his Business.

In effect, all that he says to the present purpose came to him from such Hands, and is of itself so incredible, that so discerning and judicious a Person would never have thought it worth his Notice, had he looked upon himself as concerned to make any strict Enquiry into the Truth of it. He pretends not to have heard it from such as had born any Part in the Treaty, or had any Share in the Chancellor's Confidence; but he was told it by that Great Man's *Enemies*, who, as such, must be supposed to be the least acquainted with the Management of Affairs at that Time: These it seems, when in an angry Mood they reflected on the Chancellor's Conduct, "imputed the manner of concluding the *Portugal*-
"Marriage to him as an Act of Resentment, for some former Slight he had *Personally* received in *Spain*, and
"Jealousy

“ Jealousy of being supplanted by the *Spanish* Faction.” So that his taking this Method to settle the Crown upon his own Posterity was a Calumny not yet invented. And then, for his Apprehension of being supplanted by any Faction whatsoever, your Lordship can hardly think there was any Ground for that, considering the absolute Ascendant, which, as you told us before, he had over his Master at that time. Wherefore his Conduct in regard to the Marriage must, if any Credit be due to the Count *d’ Estrade’s* Informers, be wholly imputed to the Chancellor’s Resentment of the *Slight which he had Personally received in Spain*. But can your Lordship imagine that this was Motive sufficient for a Person of his Character, who had done and suffered so much for his King and Country, to betray both the one and the other in a Matter on which the Happiness of both so much depended? But what was that cruel Outrage committed on the Chancellor’s Person in *Spain*, which could create in him so inveterate a Grudge, and put him upon breaking thro’ the most sacred Obligations, in order to take his Revenge? Surely it must be something more than your Lordship can mean by a *Slight*, or your Author by *mauvais traitement*, which is the Term used by the Count. It was now about Nine Years since the Chancellor left *Spain*, where he had lived near Fifteen Months, and where he and the Lord *Cottington*, tho’ in effect but Honourable Beggars, were treated all the while as Ambassadors Extraordinary; not indeed with all those Regards which

which might be expected, were the Crown of *England* in a flourishing Condition; but with more Respect and Civility by the Court and People, than their Master met with in other Countries: So that, as concerning his publick Character, he had little Reason to complain of his Treatment, which possibly may have been the Reason, why your Lordship speaks of the pretended *Slight* as personally received, tho' there is no such Limitation in your Author's Letter. Well! what was the Personal Affront that he so highly resented? That the Story may lose nothing in the telling, let us hear it from himself, who thus sets forth at large how he had been us'd by the King of *Spain* and his Ministers.

“ The other Ambassador (meaning himself) was dismissed with much more Courtesy ” (than the Lord Cottington, who a little before had declared himself a Papist, perhaps to ingratiate himself with the *Spaniards*;) “ For when they [the Ministers of that Court] heard that his Family remained at *Antwerp* in *Flanders*, they gave him all the Dispatches thither, which might be of use to him in those Parts. The King of *Spain* himself used many gracious Expressions to him at his last Audience; and sent afterwards to him a Letter for the Archduke *Leopold*, in which he expressed the good Opinion he had of the Ambassador, and commanded that whilst he should choose to reside in those Parts, under his Government, he should receive all Respect, and
“ enjoy

“enjoy all Priviledges of an Embassador. And *Don Lewis*
 “*de Haro* writ likewise to the Arch-Duke, and to the
 “Count *de Fuenfaldagna*, to look upon him as his parti-
 “cular Friend, &c.” Such was the Chancellor’s Treat-
 ment in *Spain*; and answerable thereto was that he met
 with at *Brussels* and *Antwerp*; in which last Place “such
 “Directions and Recommendations were sent to the Ma-
 “gistrates, that he enjoy’d the Priviledge of his Chapel;
 “and all the *English*, who were numerous then in that
 “City, repaired thither with all Freedom for their De-
 “votion and the Exercise of their Religion; which Li-
 “berty had never been before granted to any Man
 “there, &c.” Of all which it was naturally impossible
 for a Man of the Chancellor’s Make, not to feel the most
 grateful and lively Resentments. So that had those his
 Enemies, who were the Count *d’Estrades*’s Informers,
 known any thing of his real Conduct in regard to the
 King’s Marriage, they would doubtless have imputed it,
 not to any *Slight* or ill Treatment, but to the kind Usage
 he received in the Court and Dominions of *Spain*. And,
 the Truth is, should it be granted, that in managing
 Affairs of such Consequence he was governed by his own
 private Affections and Passions, those distinguishing Fa-
 vours, that had been heaped upon him by the Crown of
Spain, would be a most convincing Proof of his having
 vigorously opposed the Match with *Portugal*.

In short then your Lordship's Witnesses are, First, a pretended Minister from *France*; who, upon Examination, proves to be a simple *Commis* of *Monsieur de Turenne*, one who was judged by his best Friends, that best knew him, to be fit only for such an Employment: Who, whilst the Matter in question was in Agitation, and some Years before and after, constantly resided (not in the Court of *Portugal*, but) on the Frontiers of *Ardenne*; where he seems to have known as much of what passed at that or any other Court, as if he had lain concealed all the while in the thickest part of the Forest. This Person, being produced to prove the Chancellor to have been the first Projector and Contriver of the Marriage, says that it was Count *Schomberg*; and how well qualify'd the poor Man was to discover the Secrets of State, appears from the blundering Account he gives of things publicly known, in those very Passages which are quoted from him by your Lordship.

The other was indeed a real Minister from *France*, and made a great Figure in the World, but seems, on this Occasion, to have been brought upon the Stage rather as a mute Person to make a Shew, than for any other Purpose. He had no hand in the Marriage-Treaty; he says nothing concerning it, either of his own Knowledge, or upon the Credit of such as were privy to that Transaction. All that we have from him is the bare Report of a groundless Calumny raised by the Chancellor's known Enemies; who

who, as such, were, we may be sure, whilst that great Minister had the Power in his Hands, the least acquainted with the Debates and Resolutions of the Cabinet-Councils; and no better apprised of the Chancellor's Share in them, than they were of the Motives on which he acted.

Such is that *Unquestionable Evidence*; such those *Authentic Records*, upon which your Lordship hath pass'd your Judgment upon a Bishop and an Archdeacon, as convicted of Forgery! and branded their Memories with a Note of Infamy, never to be effaced whilst your elaborate Works shall continue to be read and admired. The Reflections, which this Procedure may be apt to occasion, will much better become your Lordship than any other Person to make.

But I beg leave to observe, that as it seems wonderful to your Lordship that the *Sieur d'Ablancourt's* Memoirs, as you call them, should escape the Archdeacon; so others, with much greater Reason, may wonder in their Turn, that the Preface to Lord *Clarendon's* History should have been overlook'd by yourself. That Preface is acknowledged on all hands to have been written by the late Earl of *Rocheſter*, with the Concurrence and Approbation of his elder Brother. In it we have the following Account of their Father's Conduct in relation to King *Charles's* Marriage; which, perfectly agreeing, as it does, with that given by the Archdeacon, will, if I am not

much mistaken, be thought by unprejudiced Readers
sufficient to clear all Doubt.

*"The King knew very well that his own Marriage had
 "not been first projected or proposed by this Author; and
 "that he had often told his Majesty, what Suspicions there
 "were in the World, that that great and virtuous Princess
 "might prove unfruitful."*

This Evidence we have from Witnesses whom they,
 whose Opinion deserves any the least Regard, will allow
 to be above all Exception. I will make no Comparison
 between it and that we have been considering; for This
 needs no such Foil: Nor will its being opposed to the
 other make That appear more frivolous and trifling than
 it does of itself already. Nor shall I offer at any Con-
 firmation of what these Noble Lords declare; as not pre-
 suming that any thing I can say will add Force or Weight
 to their Testimony. But this I will venture to affirm,
 That whosoever shall attempt to overthrow their Credit,
 will find it extremely difficult to support his own. For
 upon what Ground or what Pretence can any Man hope
 to be believed in any thing he shall write or say, who
 would have Persons of their Piety, Probity and Honour,
 thought capable of imposing a Falshood upon the World?
 Besides, it is so natural for all People to pass their Judg-
 ment upon others, according to what they would do
themselves in any Case, that they, who would render
 such

such Persons suspected of so vile a Practice, do in effect but proclaim to the World what we are to expect from them on a like Occasion.

I have reserved for this last Place what your Lordship calls the Archdeacon's *finishing Stroke*, by which some Readers may imagine that he hath drawn upon himself your heavy Displeasure; tho', for my part, I should rather ascribe his ill Treatment to any other Cause than That. Mr. *Echard*, in his Account of the last Audience which the *Portuguese* Ambassador had of General *Monk*, says, that the former, having proposed the Marriage between the King and the *Infanta*, insisted that, over and above the many great Advantages that would accrue from thence to *England*, This Match might be a Means to humble the proud Spaniards, which (saith the Archdeacon) the General, according to the Notions he had imbib'd in his younger Days, thought to be the greatest Advantage of all. This Saying of the Archdeacon's your Lordship would be thought to take extremely ill at his Hands, as if some very wicked abominable thing, destructive of the Interest of his Country, lay couch'd under these Words, Notions imbib'd in his younger Days; and upon this Occasion you tell us, that " the General was descended of as antient and loyal
 " a Family, and good Members too of the Church, as
 " any in the West of *England*; that he was driven very
 " young into the Military Service by a filial Resentment;
 " and that he served in *Spain*, in *France*, in the Pala-
 " tinate,

tinge, and in the *Low-Countries*, 'till he arrived at the "Command of a Regiment in *Holland*:" With a great deal more, much to the General's Commendation, but not in the least inconsistent with any thing I can find anywhere said by the Archdeacon. The Notions, which he supposes to have been imbib'd by the General in relation to the *Spaniards*, were apparently such as all good *Englishmen* did afterwards conceive of the *French*; whilst These, as Those had done before, were aspiring to the universal Monarchy; for which Cause all, that wished well to their Country, were desirous to see them humbled in their Turn. It is not unlikely that the General's Animosity against the *Spaniards* was raised by Degrees to a higher Pitch than ordinary, whilst he bore Arms against them in *Spain* and in the *Palatinate*, and for many Years together in *Holland* and the *Low-Countries*. And since Men of his Character, as they receive Impressions more slowly than other People, retain them by so much the longer, Mr. *Echard* might be of Opinion, as I have Reason to believe Sir *Robert Southwell* was, That the General's Apprehension of the exorbitant Power of *Spain* continued the same when that Power had been reduced within due Bounds; and that he therefore wish'd to see that Crown humbled lower yet than it had been brought by the *Pyrenean Treaty*: Tho' it appear'd to others, that *France* was by that time gaining the Ascendant.

Nor

Nor would this Opinion, if believed, lessen the Respect which People have for that Great Man's Memory, or in any wise detract from his Character : He might, for all this, be come of as good a Family, be as loyal a Subject, and as good a Churchman too, as your Lordship would have him thought. It is not long since many excellent Persons of all Ranks, prepossessed with the like Prejudices, were for pushing on the War against *France* with the utmost Vigour, after that the great Monarch had been reduced once and again to beg for Peace ; little considering how much they endangered the Liberties of *Europe* by the Course they were taking to secure them : For, had not that great Patriot and consummate Statesman, to whom this Nation, and with it the whole Christian World, stands indebted for its present Tranquillity, interposed when he did, our succeeding Victories might on several Accounts have proved our Ruine ; particularly by rendering the House of *Austria* more formidable to the rest of *Europe*, than it had ever been before. So much for the Notions imbibed by the General in his younger Days, by which Mr. *Echard* supposes him to have been influenced, when he came so readily into the Alliance with *Portugal* ; which at the utmost implied no more than a laudable, tho' not the most discerning, Zeal for his Country's Welfare.

Pardon

Pardon me, my Lord, if I cannot conclude without expressing some Concern to my deceased Friend's Misfortune; That he should be marked out from among the Modern Historians, as a principal Object of your Indignation, and receive worse Usage at your Hands, than they who have laboured most to debase the General's Character, and render his Name odious to Posterity; when it may be questioned, whether any one of those, who relate the Actions of that Illustrious Person, hath deserved better of his Memory, or more studiously consulted his Honour. I am sure I could give some Instances, wherein Sir *Thomas Clarges*, as much a Friend and near an Ally as he was, comes very short of the Arch-deacon in this respect: Compare, my Lord, the Accounts they give of the General's Conduct, as it made way for the Restoration, and then judge which of the two speaks most to his Advantage.

There were two masterly Strokes, which gave the Turn to that great Revolution; neither of which, if we believe Sir *Thomas*, was struck by *Monk* himself, otherwise than as an Instrument in the Hands of others; tho', if he had failed in either, he must in all likelihood have been cut off in the midst of his great Designs, whatsoever they were: One was, the Removal of *Fleetwood's* Army from their Quarters in and about *London*, without which our General must have stopp'd short in his March thither,

thither, or have met with more than his Match ; That Army wanting neither Numbers, nor Courage, nor Animosity to hew both him and his few Regiments to Pieces, harrafs'd as they were by a fatiguing March from *Scotland* in the very depth of Winter. This Removal, for any thing that appears to the contrary in Mr. *Echard*, was purely the Effect of the General's Management. According to Sir *Thomas Clarges* it was wholly contrived, and in a great Measure executed, by himself ; *Monk* being little more than passive all the while, who seems to have never thought of the Matter 'till he was got as far as *Nottingham* ; where, *Clarges* meeting him, both warned him of his Danger, and instructed him how to avoid it ; infomuch that Sir *Philip Warwick* is not a little offended at the Account which that Gentleman gives of this Transaction, as thinking, with great Reason, that it was " an Intrenchment on the General's Foresight, to suppose " that so important a Counsel could be drawn out of any " other Quiver but his own. "

The other was his sudden Return into the City on the 11th of *February*, and declaring there for a Free Parliament: Which had he not done at that very Juncture of Time, it was then thought, that far from being able to bring about those Changes which afterwards followed, he could hardly have kept his Head upon his Shoulders. But neither was this done of his own Motion ; nor indeed

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doth Mr. *Echard* say it was : But then he represents his Excellency as readily yielding to the Counsels of others. Whereas, according to the Account Sir *Thomas Clarges* gives of this Affair, to which I refer, he moved only as he was push'd forward, Step by Step, almost against his Will, by them that had the Management of him. And when these had with much adoe thus got him into the City, and brought him to dine with the Lord-Mayor, the Coldness he perceived in his Lordship's Countenance, occasioned by the Outrages committed there the two preceding Days, so damp'd his Spirits, that he seem'd to stagger in his Resolutions just when the Business came to a *Crisis* ; " For, taking *Clarges* aside, he check'd him as " having over hastily *pressed him on* to so great an Enter-
" prise." But that Gentleman, who had the chief Hand in bringing his Excellency thus far on his Way, thought he might then take the Liberty to tell him plainly, as he did, That " He was now too far advanced to go back ; " and the best Advice he [*Clarges*] could give, was to " desire the Lord Mayor to appoint the Aldermen and " Common-Council to meet him at Four o'-Clock in " *Guild-Hall*, and there to acquaint them with his real " Intentions to comply with the Desires of the whole " Kingdom." The General doing as he was directed, the Common-Council met that Afternoon. The *Rump* was roasted that Night. And the Restoration came on in Course.

I know not how to excuse the Archdeacon for taking so little Notice, as he does, of such remarkable Passages; since 'tis the Part of an Historian to make use of all the Light he can get, in discovering the first Springs and real Motives of any great Action. Possibly he might not know or remember what your Lordship hath since informed us of; namely, That "the Continuation of *Baker's* Chronicle was written by Sir *Thomas Clarges* himself, or by his immediate Direction." For Everybody must agree with your Lordship, that "Sir *Thomas* was a Man of unquestionable Truth, whose Sincerity was never suspected; he having been personally privy to, and Agent in this very Affair." If the Archdeacon's Prejudices in favour of the General made him overlook those Passages, the Fault is not to be defended: But still it should free him from the Suspicion of any Design to lessen the General's Character.

In effect, let us suppose him to be ever so much mistaken in his Account of the Match with *Portugal*, his Mistakes, by your Lordship's Confession, reflect no Dishonour upon your Illustrious Kinsman; and therefore one might at least expect to find him among the last you would choose to animadvert upon: "Twould be time enough, one would think, to fall upon him after a Confutation of those Writers, some of them far from being contemptible, who so represent that Great Man's

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Conduct,

Conduct, even in the Business of the Restoration, the Glory of his Life, that his Memory suffers much thereby, in the Opinion of many unprejudiced and impartial Readers. 'Till those Writers are confuted, any *Vindication of General Monk*, wherein no Notice is taken of Them, may look like a Sanction given to their hard Sayings ; a tacit Acknowledgment that they are thought unanswerable.

However, since it was your Lordship's Pleasure to begin with the Archdeacon, *it may seem wonderful*, that you never thought of calling him to account, whilst he was in a condition to rectify such Mistakes as he should be convinced of. He lived twelve Years or more after the Publication of his History ; and during all that time was no less ready to acknowledge his Errors, than to defend the Truth, when it was apparently on his side. This they found, whoever thought themselves or their Relations to have been hardly used, and came to an *Eclaircissement* with him ; which many Persons in high Stations condescended to do, and received from him all the Satisfaction which Men of Honour could demand, or an honest and faithful Historian give. Nor did he want on such Occasions to be called upon to do his Duty. He was no sooner sensible of the Wrong he had done, thro' Misinformation, to the *Hamden* Family, than he made Amends for it by a voluntary and publick Retraction. He did the like Justice to the Memory of
Sir

Sir *Richard Willis*, so far as the Case of that unhappy Gentleman would admit of any Reparation : And could you doubt of his Readiness to do the like in the Case of his admired Hero ?

But, notwithstanding that your Lordship did not find it convenient to expostulate with him, whilst it was in his Power to give you Satisfaction ; it does not necessarily follow, nor indeed ought it to be believed, that you took Encouragement from his Death to use him so severely as you have done : For that would be to insult over his Grave ; the Thoughts whereof vulgar Minds must be shock'd at, the Noble and the Generous cannot but abhor. And yet *great Pity it is*, that this *Vindication* was not published a Year or two before the Date : For, as your Lordship before observed in the Case of my Lord *Clarendon*, *There is no being sure what Interpretations the malicious World may make.*

And, to say the Truth, the different Manner in which a Living Writer hath been dealt with, may give some Colour to such Interpretations as that sort of People are like to make on this Occasion.

The Writer I mean is that very Person who hath infinitely exceeded all the most infamous Libellers that ever went before, or are like to come after him, in vilifying the renowned General, and blackening his Character, as
any

any one may see who will but look for the Name of *Monk* in the *Index* to that Author's *History* of the *Stuarts*, and behold with what horrible Marks of Infamy it there stands branded! This bold Writer, having lately come under your Lordship's Animadversion, was not treated as the Archdeacon had been; but with all that Humanity, Courtesie, and Candour, which make so shining a Part of your Lordship's Character. Now tho' all must allow this Treatment of Mr. *Oldmixon*, as obnoxious as he is, to be highly commendable in itself, and to come with a peculiar Grace from a Person of your Lordship's Quality, condescending to deal thus with his Inferiors; yet when it is compared with the contrary Usage of the Archdeacon, lying silent as he does in his Grave, *the malicious World* may be apt to put I know not what Interpretations upon the one as well as on the other; and possibly the most unprejudiced Judges will look upon the latter as altogether unaccountable. I am, with very great Respect,

My Lord!

Your Lordship's

Most Humble and

Most Obedient Servant,



J. Colbatch.

Cambridge,
May 1. 1733.

